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Problem Of Communist Infiltration

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

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Minority Stockholders vs. Jim Crow

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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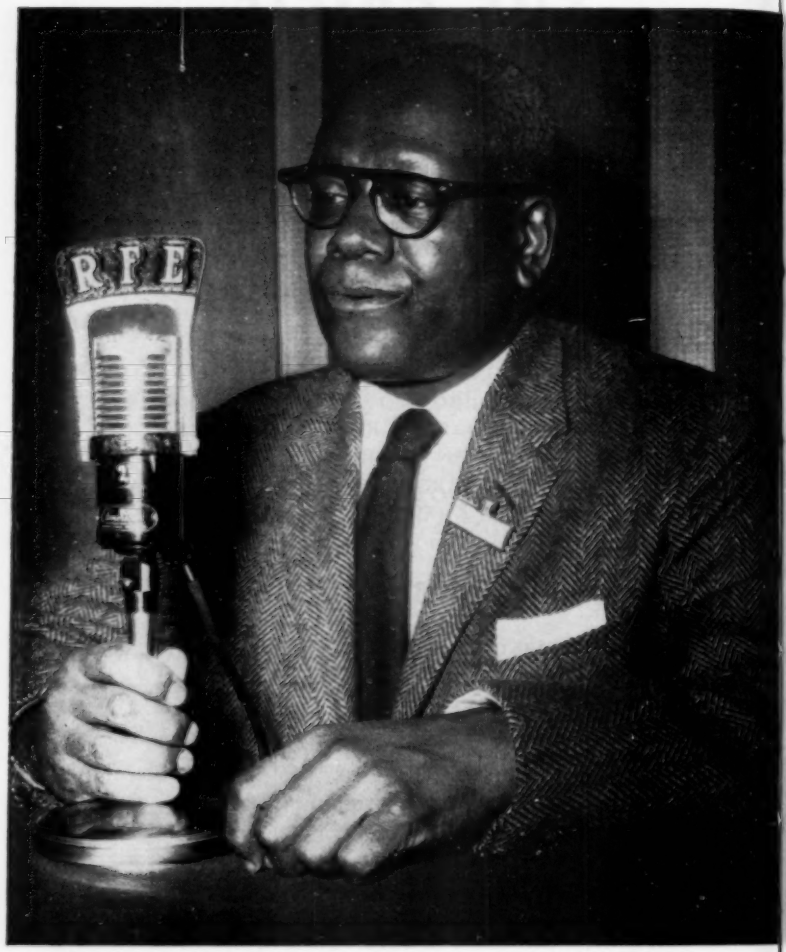

HENRY L. MOON, *director of public relations for the NAACP, broadcasts a message of hope and encouragement (over Radio Free Europe in Munich, Germany) from the United States to the captive people behind the Iron Curtain. Mr. Moon represented the NAACP as one of the key American leaders who made a ten-day tour of Radio Free Europe during the month of October.*

■ Here are some of the dangers Communist infiltration presents to civil-rights organizations

The Problem of Communist Infiltration

By Alfred Baker Lewis

THE few Communists and their fellow-travellers and dupes who come to the conventions of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have now quit trying to prevent adoption of an anti-communist resolution, although when it was originally introduced they fought it hard and got between one-sixth and one-seventh of the total vote against it. Instead, they now concentrate their opposition to that section of the trade union resolution which directs NAACP branches and state conferences not to cooperate with the Communist-controlled unions, chiefly those which were expelled some five years ago from the CIO for adhering to the Communist line. The main argument that they use is that the NAACP should seek and accept the cooperation of *any* organization that claims to stand for equal rights for Negroes.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, *an official of the Union Casualty and Life Insurance Company, Mount Vernon, New York, is a member of the Board of Directors of the NAACP.*

This argument should be examined because some people may fall for it. It is doubly important to do so now because the Communists have been instructed to infiltrate other organizations in order to try to get them to support Russia's policy of getting the nations with political democracy to disarm, while Russia on her part refuses any inspection or control to see whether or not she disarms. Accordingly, the Communists have been trying to infiltrate such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, and that organization has had to vote and be vigilant to exclude them. They have tried and are trying to get into Americans for Democratic Action, although that organization is directly opposed to them on issues of foreign policy. They tried to infiltrate the CIO, but the few unions they controlled were kicked out, and now they are simply left in a few local unions where the international union is not controlled by Communists.

And, of course, they have tried, and are trying, to get back into the NAACP, although we have adopted

resolutions authorizing and directing our branches and the national board to exclude them. One "C. Per," a young white man from North Carolina, Ralph Clontz, who testified on behalf of the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning his membership in the Communist party, declared, under oath, that he had been instructed by Doxey Wilkerson, one of the leading Negro Communists, to try to infiltrate one of our branches in Long Island. He was even told which board member to see if he found his plans blocked by Gloster Current, the director of branches, who is certainly on his toes in this regard. Mr. Current did take steps to counteract Clontz's influence, and Clontz did get in touch with the board member named by Doxey Wilkerson. The board member declared that Mr. Clontz was "a fine young white man who was a great friend of the Negro," although only Doxey Wikerson said he was a friend of the Negro, for Clontz had no past record on behalf of equal rights until he started his infiltration job in one of our branches.

COOPERATION ARGUMENT

The argument that the NAACP (or any other civil rights organization) should cooperate with any other organization that claims to be for equal rights for Negroes is fallacious, because it is a standard Communist technique to set up so-called "innocents' clubs" or "transmission belts" to work for particular limited purposes, but under Communist control. These Communist fellow-travelling organizations are called "innocents' clubs" because they are intended to trap the unwary and politically innocent people into a Communist-controlled organization; and they have been named "transmission belts" because they carry Communist influence into wider circles than the Communist themselves could attract or influence.

Naturally, the Communists have set up such organizations intended to attract Negroes, or workers, or Jews. But the important thing to remember is that Communists always put the interests of Russia first, whatever may be the stated purpose of the organization which they control. For example, the Communists always claim to be in favor of the rights of Negroes and of colored peoples throughout the world. However, when Fascist Italy, then under Mussolini, attacked Ethiopia, the members of the League of Nations undertook to boycott Italy, but Soviet Russia did not. Russia continued to sell oil to Italy to help in her attack on Ethiopia. Thus Soviet Russia helped to overthrow this Negro nation and put it under Fascist domination. And the Communists throughout the world justified this also, even though they have falsely claimed to be the best friends of colored people.

The Communist have claimed to be great friends of the workers and of Jews, but when Soviet Russia made an alliance with Hitler to divide up Poland between them, the Communists justified that alliance, although Hitler was an enemy of all working class organizations and one of the greatest enemies that the Jews have ever had. The Communists said

there was no difference between Nazism and capitalism with political democracy, although the Nazis tried to eliminate the Jews, and just about succeeded in killing all of them off in the parts of Europe they controlled, while the countries with political democracy did not, of course, do that. And under Nazi control, no independent working class political action was allowed, nor were independent trade unions allowed; while such political action with working class political parties and independent trade unions existed and functioned freely in democratic countries then fighting the Nazis. Thus Russia and, of course, the Communists throughout the world, in making the alliance with Hitler, acted against the interests of the workers and against the interests of the Jews, and yet the Communists tried to justify that action.

More recently, Soviet Russia has proved its antagonism to the Jews by removing Jews from all positions of leadership in Russia, and by forcing the Communist satellite nations, such as Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Hungary to do the same. Soviet Russia has denounced Zionism, opposed the interests of the State of Israel in the United Nations, and tried to smear all Jews behind the Iron Curtain as Zionists, and, therefore, allegedly enemies of the (Communist) State. Many hundreds of them have been imprisoned and a number, like Slansky in Czechoslovakia, were executed for no real reason except the "crime" of being Jews. Therefore, when the Communists or Communist-controlled organizations claim to be free of race bias in the case of Negroes, we should remember that they have been guilty of anti-Semtism against Jews and judge the sincerity of their claim to be free of other forms of race bias accordingly.

USELESS STRIKES

During the period before World War II, while the Hitler-Stalin Pact was in effect, unions under Communist control in the United States called strikes in defense industries which had no economic justification, from the point of view of the interests of the workers. They did this because such strikes interfered with the defense program which our government was then undertaking because of our increasing fears of aggression by Hitler's Germany, which was then allied with Soviet Russia. But when Hitler attacked Russia, the Communists overnight became strong advocates of our defense program.

It so happened that the Indiana CIO State Council was having its annual convention in 1941, Circa June 19. Representatives of some of the CIO local unions in Indiana, then under Communist control, introduced resolutions attacking President Roosevelt for his policy of providing help from America for countries that were fighting the Nazis, and denouncing "the imperialist war on both sides."

While the convention was still in session, Hitler launched his attack upon his ally, Russia. The very same delegates immediately withdrew these resolutions and introduced instead resolutions supporting Roosevelt's foreign policy, supporting the American armament effort, and pledging full support for "the war for demo-

cracy" being waged by countries then engaged in fighting Nazi Germany. The war in Communist lingo was not a war for democracy when a totalitarian dictatorship attacked countries with political democracy, but when one dictatorship, Nazi Germany, attacked another dictatorship, Soviet Russia, then it was a war for democracy! Thereafter instead of calling strikes in defense industries when they could, the Communists in the United States became strong and vociferous advocates of the "no strike" pledge for the duration of the war, and counselled submission to even obvious injustices by the employer rather than resort to a strike that might interfere with the war effort of the United States while we were on Russia's side fighting Nazi aggression.

CONSISTENT POLICY

Our country's consistent policy has been, since the rise of Nazism, to build up strength against any aggression. When the Communist bloc of countries became strong enough to be aggressors in their turn, then Soviet Russia and, of course, the Communists turned against our government. For example, President Truman advocated the policies against segregation and discrimination outlined by the Commission on Civil Rights which he appointed, including such measures as a federal fair employment practice law with enforcement powers, a federal anti-poll tax law, a federal anti-lynching law, and abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces. He also advocated, through his Point IV program, American medical, technical, and economic aid to industrially backward areas in order to improve their health, increase their productivity, and raise their standards of living. A large proportion of these industrially backward areas are inhabited by colored people. One would suppose that a party, such as the Communists, which claims to have the interests of colored people at heart, would gladly support a President with such domestic and foreign policies. But from the Communist point of view, Truman made the fatal error of trying to help economically backward countries which might have fallen under Communist domination if their economic situation got worse; and he also opposed attempted Russian aggression in Greece, Turkey, Iran, and Korea. So the Communists opposed him and backed Wallace for President in 1948 instead. They even backed Wallace in the southern states where their campaign against Truman could only help Thurmond, the candidate put up by the anti-civil rights forces in those states. Russia's interests, not the interests of Negroes, or American workers, were first then, as it always is.

That is fundamentally the reason why the NAACP resolution on democratic trade unionism calls for non-cooperation with the Communist-controlled unions kicked out of the CIO for following the Communist line. Whatever the present policies of these unions toward Negroes may be, the leaders of these unions will put the interests of Soviet Russia ahead of the interests of their members, whether white or colored, when-

(*Continued on page* 641)

■ An interim report on the use of stockholders' meetings to kill jimcrow in company operations

Minority Stockholders vs. Jim Crow

By James Peck

THE June-July issues of *The Crisis* for 1951 and 1952 told the story of how Bayard Rustin and I each bought a share of Greyhound stock in order to campaign at the stockholders meetings for abolition of jimcrow seating on southern buses. That campaign, involving at present a total of eight stockholders, is still in progress. Each year Rustin and I journey to Wilmington, Delaware, to raise the issue at the meeting (see picture) and to picket. The objective is not easily attainable, yet our annual protests have some educational and publicity value.

When the objective is more limited, the stockholders meeting protest can bring immediate results. An example is the recent change of policy at W. T. Grant Co.'s eating facilities in Baltimore.

For a year the Baltimore Committee of Racial Equality had conducted a program of mealtime sit-ins by interracial groups. The New York Committee of Racial Equality had picketed Grant's in Harlem to enlist the support of New Yorkers. Yet the head office, which is located in New York, refused to intercede.

Six months after the campaign started, Rustin and I called upon Charles Rivoire, secretary of the company, in an attempt to negotiate. The company held that the Baltimore situation was one which could be settled only locally, in Baltimore, and maintained this stand until the 1954 stockholders meeting.

In this case we did not have to go to the trouble of buying a share of stock as we had in Greyhound. The War Resisters League, a pacifist organization which had been left 30 shares through a bequest, gave me their proxy. I arrived at the meeting with a reporter from the *Amsterdam News,* which had the same psychological effect as at the 1952 Greyhound meeting when a reporter and photographer from *The Philadelphia Tribune* accompanied us. It impressed the top company officials with the importance of the issue. As

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JAMES PECK, *a New Yorker, has for many years been a vigorous fighter against jim crow in all its manifestations.*

Wert Hooper

BAYARD RUSTIN *(left) and James Peck attending Greyhound stockholders' meeting two years ago in Wilmington, Delaware.*

Lewis C. Lustenberger, first vice-president, expressed it, he knew there was some sort of dispute in Baltimore, but he had not realized its significance.

The new proxy rules amendments of the Securities & Exchange Commission permitting corporations to exclude "proposals of a general economic, political, racial or similar nature" made it impossible for me to get the question on the printed agenda. I therefore raised it during the part of the meeting allotted to miscellaneous matters. So that the nine company officials as well as the twelve stockholders in attendance would be aware of the issue. I distributed at the start of the meeting copies of the statement which I was to make.

BUSINESS COMPETITORS

"When a company gets behind the times, it inevitably loses business to

its competitors," the statement said. At all similar type stores in Baltimore except Grant's, Negroes can sit down and eat along with everybody else. But at Grant's they cannot because the company adheres to the now-outmoded policy of refusing to seat Negroes. As a result, Grant's is losing Negro business and creating ill-will in public relations."

When I finished speaking, Lustenberger, who chaired the meeting, promised that the company would look into the matter.

While the meeting was in progress, Rustin and Shirley Brown picketed in front of the building (see picture). While the *Amsterdam News* reporter covered the meeting, the newspaper's photographer took pictures of the pickets. A front-page story and picture appeared in the next issue. The Afro-American in Baltimore also printed a major story.

A week after the stockholders

(*Continued on page* 640)

BAYARD RUSTIN *and Shirley Brown picketing the recent stockholders' meeting of the W. T. Grant Company in New York City. Picketing this company was effective, since the company reversed its jim-crow policies in its Baltimore eating facilities.*

■ This article describes how Brazilian Negroes are kept in a lower-class position in Brazilian society

The Negro Worker in Urban Brazil

By Thomas L. Blair

THIS article deals specifically with the broad masses of urban working people of obvious African racial origin. No attempt is made to deal with the small numbers of colored people of the middle and upper classes, nor with those colored persons of lighter hue who would not be classified as Negroids by Brazilian standards. Nor are we concerned with the achievements and exploits of outstanding men and women of color. Their stories are well known.

We are chiefly concerned with obviously Negroid Brazilians because they make up a large proportion of the working population in the urban areas and because they are generally members of the lower class. They also seem to suffer from certain handicaps which stem directly from the fact that they are both Negro and lower class. We are also concerned with the impact of the new industrial, technological, and political changes in Brazilian society upon the social relations between the dominant whites and the Negro masses.

Brazil, more so than many countries throughout the world, presents a true melting pot of racial stocks. All the principal types of mankind—Negro, white, Indian, and Asiatic—have left their mark upon Brazilian society. Until recent years, the prolonged racial intermixture and the comparative absence of unassimilable groups has confused the classification of groups by color. Racial categories have been as numerous as the shades of color, and have differed regionally and locally as well as from decade to decade. No language, perhaps, is so rich in terms for color nuances and the differences in hair textures as Brazilian Portuguese. Just a casual count will turn up thirty or more terms.

However, for the purposes of this article the classification used by the 1940 Brazilian Census will serve to give a general picture of the four basic racial types necessary for un-

THOMAS L. BLAIR, *who spent several years in Brazil, was a John Hay Whitney Foundation Fellow, 1953-54, and is now a student at Michigan State College.*

derstanding the racial composition of Brazil. The 1940 Census classifies the population into whites or *brancos*, blacks or *pretos*, browns or *pardos*, yellows or *amarelos* (*mostly Japanese*), and unclassified or de *côr não declarada*. This nomenclature, of course, does not include the Indians or *Indios*, nor the various Indian mixtures often called *cafuzos* and *Mamelucos*. The populations in these groups have varied throughout the course of history, due as much to the lack of sound criteria for classification as well as to the gradual whitening, or as the Brazilians call it, *aryanização*.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION

The 1940 Brazilian census reports the following distribution of the Brazilian population by color. Of a total population of 41,236,315 people, the whites represent 63.53 per cent; the blacks, 14.65 per cent; the browns, 21.23 per cent; and the yellows, 0.59 per cent.

In general it appears that the original racial stocks, black, white and Indian, and their subsequent crosses are unevenly distributed throughout the country. The blacks and mulattoes are found for the most part in the former slaveholding coastal areas, although the blacks are better represented as a group in the urban areas of the east than are the mulattoes. White Brazilians and the newer European immigrants are in the majority in the southern and more industrialized states of Santa Catarina, São Paulo, and Paraná. Brazilian Indians are found mainly in the states of Amazonas, Pará, Mato Grosso, and Goías.

This population is characterized, especially in the mass, by large numbers of dependents at the lower end of the age scale, by undernourishment, and by infectious or deficiency diseases. Except the few workers in the large mines and mills, most Brazilian workers are without the benefit of social security, adequate medical care, and technical assistance. Two-thirds of the national labor force work under semi-feudal conditions and live outside the main cultural activities of the nation. The majority of the agricultural population is landless, being employed by that small minority which owns huge tracts of land. All these conditions, which have existed for centuries, along with color prejudice, have resulted in group and class stratification.

Most of these dysgenic factors characterize the Brazilian urban masses, a large percentage of which is Negro. Industrialization, which began in Brazil about fifty years ago, changed the structure of Brazilian society, especially in the south. With the development of industry in the urban centers and the decline of agriculture, people were attracted to the cities where the descendants of the slaves from the compounds were transformed into proletarians, rather than citizens, to find themselves for the first time in an economic struggle with the whites. And it is the position of this lower-class urban Negro with which we are especially concerned in this article. We can find out his true position by examining him in the slums of the great cities. For our investigation we have selected Rio de Janeiro, the capital.

A GROUP OF BRAZILIAN WHITES AND NEGROES *discuss Brazilian racial problems. From left, Ranulfo Barbosa, journalist; Captain José Henrique, presidential aide; Afonso Arinos, initiator of law against racial discriminations; Joviano Severino de Mello, executive secretary of the Brazilian UHC. This picture was taken at a testimonial dinner given by the Trade Union of Navigation Workers for the Union of Colored Men in their efforts to get an anti-discrimination law on the statute books.*

THE FAVELAS

The most obvious clusters of lower class people in Rio de Janeiro are located on the slopes of hills in slum communities called *favelas*. The term *favela* is taken from a Bahian shrub of the same name. The shrub lent its name to a hill, *Morro das Favelas*, that figured in a famous battle of the Canudos campaign of 1890-97. This campaign by the new Republican Government was an attempt to quell a proletarian insurrection in the northeast under the leadership of Antonio Conselheiro. When the soldiers from this campaign returned to Rio, they built makeshift huts of wood and zinc on Providence Hill in Rio which the people dubbed *favelas*. These hill settlements gradually spread from Providence Hill to Manguiera, Cantaglo, and to the plateaus in outlying areas beyond the reach of convenient transportation. They, of course, got an assist from speculators

who bought up unclaimed city land and then sold lots to the workers at exorbitant prices. These slum communities became the refuges for the poor, the migrants, the disenfranchized; the thousands of workers who toiled in the growing industrial and commercial houses of the city.

Their residents are not the "dregs of society," but working class people who think of themselves as inhabitants of a real, functioning, though underprivileged, community. They have grocery stores or *birascas* which sell a variety of goods without paying the municipal taxes. They have associations and clubs which provide recreation and entertainment. One such club is the Samba Club, which is partially subsidized by the city government to provide new tunes and songs for the annual Carnival.

A typical *favela* house is about eight by fourteen feet, with packing case walls, a roof of zinc sheeting or of flattened oil cans, and an earthen floor. There is no water, no drainage system, and candles furnish illumination. These shacks usually house families of from five to six people.

The July-September 1953 issue of the *Revista Brasileira de Estatística* (pp. 251-278) publishes a survey of 58 *favelas* distributed throughout 17 city districts and containing approximately 169,305 *favelados*, as the residents of these areas are called. This population represents about one-third of the slum population of Rio, and has the following percentages colorwise: whites, 32.74; blacks, 37.98; and browns, 28.89. Blacks and browns are represented in the *favelas* in far greater number than in Brazil as a whole and also to a much greater extent than in the population of Rio, which has the following color percentages: white, 69.86; blacks, 12.30; and browns, 17.50. Men (50.05 per cent) outnumber the women (49.95 per cent) to a slight extent. Approximately one-third of the population are children under fourteen years of age. Most of the *favelados* are migrants from adjacent rural areas.

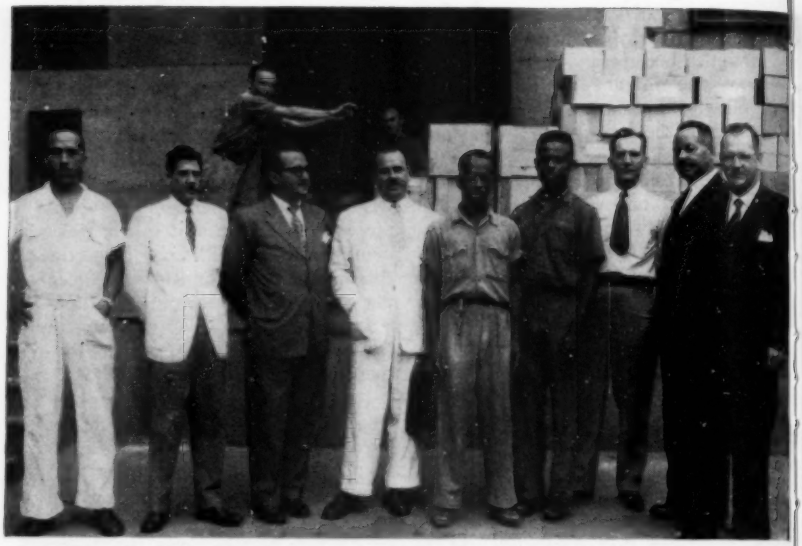
More than fifty per cent of all people over seven years of age in these communities are illiterate, whereas the illiteracy rate for Rio is eighteen per cent. Most of the men are construction workers or employees in light industry. The women are domestics.

Conditions in the *favelas* are bad. They have a high ratio of dependents to producers, a low level of education, insecurity of employment, low standards of living, and a constant influx of migrants. All are burdens which fall heavily upon the Negro lower classes who make up a large percentage of the *favelados*.

OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

The attitude of the civil authorities toward this Negro lower class, though couched in social-work lingo, contains implicit and explicit value assumptions concerning the capabilities of the Negro. This statement from a government report on the *favelas* is indicative of the official attitude toward Negroes:

> Almost always it is the ambition of individuals which awaken their actions, and we observe that as new activities occur new and further ambitions develop. Negroes, for example, as a rule do not rise or cannot profit by their freedom and the new opportunities afforded them by their new environment. Their atavistic laziness comes to the



WORKERS OF THE SYDNEY ROSS COMPANY *in Rio which claims it does not discriminate against Negroes because they employ a couple of Negro service workers.*

fore and they return to their former stagnation; or, like all primitives, who are without self-respect, they maintain only a bare minimum standard and invest relatively large sums of money in exotic clothing, carnivals, and *festas*. . . . The backward classes are not capable of work of any duration. . . .

Brazilians have both race and color prejudice although its expression takes milder forms than in the American South. Mr. Costa Pinto in a recent book on the Negro in Rio de Janerio points out that there is "a difference between the real Brazilian attitude and the confessed opinion." This prejudice and discrimination is related to existing social and economic institutions, and its main purpose is to keep the Negro masses in their lower class place. Whenever the possession of economic goods by Negro workers threatens the prevailing system of social ranking, the criterion of race becomes important.

The many incidents of racial discrimination headlined in the Brazilian press and the passage of an anti-discrimination law in 1951—the *lei Afonso Arinos*—indicate increasing racial tension and racial discrimination.

There is a discriminatory scale of jobs with the better paid and socially

more acceptable work going to white people, while the hardest and worst paid occupations are reserved for the darker groups. For instance, although Negroes constitute about 30 per cent of the population of Rio, of the 698,499 males employed in Rio in 1940, only 1,339 were Negro professionals (*pretos* and *pardos*) as against 12,837 for the whites. There were 5,125 white professional women but only 561 Negro women (*pretas* and *pardas*).

In the extractive industries of Rio, one of the principal activities of the city, there are no Negro employers at all. Only 1.54 per cent of the employers in light industry are Negro (*pretos* and *pardos*). Of the employed Negro women (*pretas* and *pardas*) more than 75 per cent are employed in domestic work. Brazil's social stratification places the triple handicap of race, class, and sex upon the Negro woman from which she, if *mulata,* can hope to escape only as the idealized instrument of the white man's sexual pleasure, *a mulher quente, the sexy woman,* of samba, canção and trova.

Negroes are likewise barred from the higher administrative posts in government and the officer corps of the army, navy, and air force. It is difficult for them to secure high judicial posts and the upper teaching ranks in private schools. In the public civil service, however, the rank order is brown, white, black, with the blacks having even a lower representation than the *amarelos* or yellows, Brazilians of Japanese and Chinese ancestry. The diplomatic corps and Itamaraty Palace or the foreign office are also closed to them.

Many schools are likewise dedicated solely to the education of white children. For example, the orphanage of the Colegio Imacula Conceição in Rio has a regulation which restricts its purpose "To educate poor children and orphans of good white families."

When a Negro applies for a job, he is usually told: "Sorry, we don't accept Negroes." In 1951 the Sydney Ross Company, a Brazilian subsidiary of a well-known American chemical firm, refused to hire a qualified Negro girl as secretary. When charged with discrimination, the manager brought out his janitorial staff to count three black faces out of ten people. He then explained: "See! We don't discriminate!"

Newspaper help-wanted ads in Rio newspapers are likely to stress "good appearance" (*bôa aparencia*) or to demand photographs of the applicants. The "good appearance," of course, means they must be "white," and the reason for the photograph is obvious. On December 8, 1951, the *Diário de Notícias,* Rio's morning paper with the largest circulation, carried a chorus-girl want-ad for a new musical which read: "White candidates" (*candidatas de côr branca*).

NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS

Further refutation of the idyllic picture of Brazilian racial relations is found in the rise of the new type of Negro association—the UHC (Union of Men of Color), the UCHC (Cultural Union of Men of Color), the UC (Cultural Union), and TEN (Negro Experimental Theatre). These organizations are natural expressions of racial consciousness in a society where colored people are

faced with increasing discrimination. The Union of Men of Color, led by Severino de Mello, is in the forefront of the fight for better jobs and has made a practice of keeping a careful record of all cases of racial discrimination reported to it. It is the only organization which suggests the NAACP, and like its American predecessor is better known by its initials, UAGACE, Brazilian pronunciation of its initials, UHC.

The Negro Experimental Theatre (*Teatro Experimental do Negro*), founded by Abdias Nascimento, is an organization which attempts to channel the Negro's religious and dramatic traditions into a constructive social program. For despite its name, TEN is not just a theatrical association with artistic goals, but the leader in a social movement which is attempting to raise the social and economic status of Brazilian Negroes. Senhor Nascimento at one time published a magazine called *O Quilombo*. This name is significant because it is an African word formerly applied to runaway-slave settlements. Senhor Nascimento considers his peoples as still being in bondage.

Mention should be made of the Social and Cultural Crusade of Black Brazilians, organized in São Paulo in 1940, and the eighth annual meeting of this organization held in June 1951 to discuss the Brazilian Negro and his problems. São Paulo also has a *Frente Negro* (Negro Front) and the Club of Independence. Nor must we overlook the First Brazilian Negro Congress (August 26-September 4, 1950) organized by Abdias Nascimento, Edison Carneiro, and Guerreiro Ramos. The sessions, held in Rio, were devoted to Negro history, Negro social life and Negro status, African religious and folkloric survivals, language, and esthetics.

These new type organizations—UHC, UCHC, TEN, etc.—stand out in sharp contrast to the old or traditional type of Brazilian Negro organizations. The Brotherhood of Our Lord of Rosário and Saint Benedict of the Blacks, to mention two, were primarily religious and recreational groups rather than race conscious organizations with a program for improving the lot of the Negro masses. They accepted the traditional pattern of Brazilian race relations.

TRIVIA IN THE WIND

We must make mention too of oft trifling incidents and remarks, which though of little consequence in themselves, do take on meaning when placed within the context of the urban racial pattern just described. They point up the increasing racial prejudice and discrimination in urban Brazil and the wish of many white Brazilians to keep Negroes in their lower class position. A Carioca, a native of Rio, in commenting upon the increase in the number of Negro chauffeurs as well as the increase in fatal automobile accidents one day exclaimed: "If I had my way, I'd sterilize every Negro in Brazil."

A few years ago this anecdote was current in Rio: Two Cariocas were talking when two whites ran by. One of the men then said: "You know when I see two whites running, I think of them as athletes. When I see two Negroes, I know they are criminals fleeing the police."

This brief survey shows that the

lower class Negro does not occupy an enviable position in Brazilian society. That he suffers, in part, from slave-period stereotypes and traditions, from economic insecurity and exploitation, from illiteracy and ignorance, and—his color. Erico Verissimo, the novelist, writing in *The Return of the Black Cat* (*A Volta do Gato Preto*, 1948), explains to a friend that "the position of the Brazilian Negro is economically the worst possible, and socially it is not much better" (p. 322). "It is an achievement, I admit," he adds, "for a country not to have organized, recognized, official and semi-official discrimination such as you find in many of the North American states. But the Negro in Brazil has no opportunity for education, not because he is a Negro, but because he belongs, in general, to a marginal group."

The development of urban industries, the freeing of the Negro from the soil, the increased competition for jobs and wages, and the creation of an urban proletariat are all factors which foreshadow grave conflicts within the Brazilian social structure unless the leaders of that country take immediate steps to forestall them.

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■ Excerpts from the Porteño press on Philippa's Argentine debut

Philippa Schuyler Makes Orchestral Debut in Buenos Aires

THE celebrated American pianist and composer Philippa Schuyler made her debut as a concert pianist in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in October. She also did a half-hour radio program over Radio Splendid, sponsored by Cinzano. This was so well received that she was asked to play with the Buenos Aires Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra twice under the direction of conductor Juan Emilio Martini of the Teatro Colon. These programs were sponsored on Radio El Mundo for an all-South American hookup by the North American Company, Remington Rand.

Then the American Embassy invited her to give a private recital to invited guests on October 5. On October 19 she played again with the Buenos Aires Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in an all-Gershwin concert. She also played in Rosario and La Plata, Argentina, as well as gave concerts in Uruguay and Chile.

Below are excerpts from the Buenos Aires press on her debut:

"The North American pianist Philippa Duke Schuyler was presented in the hall of the Teatro Opera last night as a soloist with the Philharmonic Orchestra of Buenos Aires, directed by conductor Carlos Cillario. The enthusiastic commentaries that preceeded the artist were confirmed in all her expressive eloquence and in the brilliant demonstration of her technical capacity offered in interpretations notable for their fidelity and their vibration. The Concerto in F by Gershwin and the Concerto No. 2, in G. Minor of Saint Saens constituted magnificent expressions of her artistry and of her temperament. The audience acclaimed her with a long and sustanied ovation. . . ." *La Epoca*—Buenos Aires, September 7.

"There was offered last night the first concert of the North American pianist, Philippa Duke Schuyler, young artist who confirmed all the wonderful commentaries which preceeded her arrival. In two concertos of very distinct character, she demonstrated a technical purity and a communicative power that made the

PHILIPPA SCHUYLER *with Gilbert Chase, famous musicologist and now cultural attaché to the American Embassy in Buenos Aires. Mr. Chase's secretary is at the left. Miss Schuyler gave a private recital at the Embassy on October 5.*

whole auditorium vibrate with an intimate communion with the inner spirit of the compositions. . . ." *Democracia,* Buenos Aires, September 7.

"Yesterday, at the Teatro Opera, was presented Philippa Duke Schuyler, soloist with the Philharmonic Orchestra, presenting the Concerto in G. Minor by Saint Saens which she portrayed with limpid sonority and expressive purity, and the Gershwin in F, in which she obtained her greatest success by her passionate interpretation, vivacious style, and the generous emotion with which she transmitted its essense and form. . . ." *La Prensa,* Buenos Aires, September 7.

". . . She created an excellent impression last night . . . has an enthusiastic musical personality. . . . The public saluted her unreservedly. . . ." *La Nacion,* Buenos Aires. September 7.

"In the Teatro Opera debut of Philippa Duke Schuyler, this youthful artist displayed admirable gifts both natural and cultivated with which she conquered the heated applause of the audience, responding to their cordiality with many en-

cores. . . ." *La Razon,* Buenos Aires, September 11.

"The young North American pianist received her second hearing Friday at the Teatro Opera, during which she unfolded a rich program which included many well known works by J. S. Bach, Scarlatti, Brahms, Beethoven, Chopin, Ravel and Debussy and also next to them grouped a little known Sonata in C Minor by the Catalan composer, Jose Galles (1761),

She possesses a technical aptitude which enables her to surpass in pure interpretation. . . ." *El Pueblo,* Buenos Aires, September 12.

MISS SCHUYLER *at the Remington Rand broadcast over radio El Mundo (all South American hookup). The orchestra was conducted by Juan Martini, playing the Gershwin Concerto in F and the Grieg Concerto.*

Good News

Benjamin Oliver Davis, Jr., 41-year-old director of operations and training of the Far East Air Forces, was promoted by President Eisenhower to the temporary rank of brigadier general on October 27. This makes former Colonel Davis, son of Brigadier General Benjamin Oliver Davis, Sr., now retired, the first Negro Air Force general in American history. Brigadier General Davis, Jr., is a 1936 graduate of the United States Military Academy and served during World War II in Italy as commander of the 332nd Fighter Group.

★ ★ ★

On November 8 Random House of New York City published Giose Rimanelli's *The Day of the Lion* in the English version of Ben Johnson. Ben Johnson is a young Negro writer from Fisk University who has been living in Rome for several years. He has gained a reputation throughout publishing circles as one of the finest translators in the business. *New World Writing* (First Mentor Selection, 1952) published Mr. Johnson's translation from the Italian of Giuseppe Berto's "The Seed Among Thorns," and the Winter issue of *The Hudson Review* carried his English version of Italo Svevo's "This Indolence of Mine."

★ ★ ★

Saudi Arabia's new minister of finance to handle its oil revenues is Mohammed Surur el Sabban, a Negro born a slave. (Saudi Arabia occupies the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula and was formed, with British help, after World War I, through the astute leadership of Ibn Saud, the ruler of the Wahhabis. The country has an estimated population of 6,500,000 and 870,000 square miles.)

Slaves in Saudi Arabia, as in old Arabia, often become adopted members of their master's family. Mohammed Surur's father was owned by the Sabban family of Mecca, but was free as an old man. The Sabbans then took the child Mohammed Surur into the family.

Since Arab tradition permits a slave to adopt his master's family name if he is brought up as a member of the household, Mohammed Surur officially became a Sabban. He was a brilliant student and he later became one of the outstanding poets of the Hejaz, starting a literary renaissance in his country. (Antar or Ibn Sheddad Al-Absi, probably the greatest of Arabian poets, was also a Negro.)

Mohammed Surur was called to the ministry after the resignation of Sheikh Abdullah Suleiman and a series of scandals in the ministry. King Suad then picked Mohammed Surur, who had for many years been Suleiman's secretary, because of his proved ability in financial matters. No scandal or corruption was attached to Surur's name.

★ ★ ★

William Y. Bell has been appointed a director of adult education and social relations for the Council of Liberal Churches (Universalist-Unitarian), Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. Bell is the first Negro to be named to an executive position in either the Universalist or Unitarian denomination.

★ ★ ★

SOME OFFICERS AND MEMBERS *of the Battle Creek, Michigan, branch of the NAACP. This branch has done and is doing a very effective job in its community.*

Looking and Listening . . .

SCHOOL INTEGRATION

"THE progress of integration in Portland, Oregon," according to the October, 1954, issue of the Urban League's *Interracial Progress Report*, in the employment of teachers is reflected in the fact that 34 nonwhite teachers are currently employed in the Portland public schools, 12 of whom are new this fall. The total includes 25 Negro, six Oriental, and three American Indian teachers. All have been placed in accordance with the school's board policy of nonsegregation."

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

MONSIGNOR Patrick A. Flanagan, surviving older brother of the founder of Boys Town, near Omaha, Nebraska, asked the Nebraska council of the Knights of Columbus to drop Father Flanagan's name from the title of their council because of "unpleasant publicity."

The council is the Father Flanagan Council of the Knights of Columbus. This group recently refused three Negro candidates membership despite what was reportedly overwhelming sentiment in favor of admittance. Seven "no" votes prevented membership.

Monsignor Flanagan said in a letter to the council that "the selection of the council name was meant as a mark of distinction to my deceased brother. We accepted it as such and appreciated it accordingly. His name has now come in for unpleasant publicity in spite of his well known friendship for the colored race."

The priest told the members that his brother had "pioneered in Christian social advancement of the Negro people," always had a large percentage of Negro children among his boys and that the policy at Boys Town had not changed.

The local council's action in refusing the three Negroes membership brought apologies from the Grand Knight. Archbishop Gerald T. Bergan of Omaha also issued a statement on the matter saying he felt confident the leadership of the Knights of Columbus would eliminate the cause of the "sorry spectacle."

JACKIE ROBINSON

WE REPRINT the following editorial, titled "Hurray for Jackie Robinson!", from the November, 1954, issue of *Sport* magazine:

If you followed baseball in the National League closely this summer, you must have noticed that Jackie Robinson of the Brooklyn Dodgers added a new and unhappy title to the many he has earned in his spectacular career: He was the most savagely booed, intensively criticized, ruthlessly libeled player in the game. Everywhere he went, from

the Polo Grounds in New York to County Stadium in Milwaukee, his every appearance on the field was greeted by a storm of boos, by cat-calls, by name-calling. No matter how hard others might applaud in an effort to balance the scales, Jackie's ears were filled with the roar of the crowd getting "on" him, giving it to him, needling him, insulting him. Only in his own ball park, Ebbets Field, did the applause overpower the abuse, and even there it was a near thing at times. Clearly, one of the most marvelous athletes and compelling personalities the world of sport has known in years had fallen into public disfavor. Why?

Sport, which cheerfully admits to having been in Jackie's corner from the beginning, thinks the basic answer is simple. It will be disputed, but we contend vigorously that the vast majority of the boo-birds are people who weren't happy about Robinson's penetration of the unwritten ban on Negroes in the majors, who were forced into squirming acceptance of him by the sheer strength of his performance on the field in the years from 1947 through 1952, who began to perk up and squawk at him as he began to slow up in 1953, and who gleefully let him have it with both tonsils as he clearly went back in '54. They had been waiting for the chance, hoping for it, and now that they had it, they weren't going to pass it up.

Maybe Jackie will play again next year, and maybe he won't. But soon he will be out of baseball and the game is going to miss him the way it has missed Joe DiMaggio, the way it will miss Ted Williams and Bob Feller when they go. Forget about his accomplishment in paving the way for others of his race; just think of him as a ballplayer, as a daring and guileful baserunner, as a sharp and decisive hitter who was always at his best in the tightest moments, as a bold and instinctive fielder who didn't know what it meant to give up on a ball or shy away from flying spikes on a close tag play. Above all, think of him as the very symbol of flaming spirit on the ball field, the man who couldn't be beaten because he wouldn't be beaten, the man who burned and seethed and smoked with desire to win. How many other players in the game today can match Robinson's incredible knack for digging a little deeper and coming up with a little more in the clutch?

Again and again the charge is leveled at Jackie that he has hurt himself (and his "cause") by coming out of the shell in which he played through his first couple of seasons with Montreal and Brooklyn. The implication is that he should have kept his place, should have stayed out of arguments, should have confined himself solely to hitting the ball, running the bases and playing the field. But *why* should he? Isn't he as entitled as anyone else, as Enos Slaughter, for instance, or Eddie Stanky, or Ferris Fain, or Billy Martin, to be an aggressive firebrand? That's Jackie's nature. When one of the other boils over with aggressiveness, he is praised as a real old-fashioned, all-out-to-win ballplayer. But when Robinson does it, he is condemned and it doesn't make sense to us, either. The only conclusion we can draw from it is that his critics don't think Robinson ought to have the same rights other ballplayers have.

We know this much about Jackie. There hasn't been a more exciting player than him since Babe Ruth. There hasn't been a more deadly competitor than him since Ty Cobb. There isn't a player in either league who has given more of his time to promoting baseball and to helping kids than Jackie has. There isn't anyone in the game who is more approachable, friendlier, more honest in his answers to the most pointed questions, than Jackie is.

It's a free country. You can boo him if you want. We salute him.

NEW JERSEY SCHOOLS

THIS information on the status of integration in the New Jersey public schools comes from the *Annual Report* of the Department of Education, Division Against Discrimination, State of New Jersey:

Most of the school districts in New Jersey never had segregated schools. When the revised Constitution was ratified in 1947, it contained a provision that pupils must not be segregated in the public schools because of race, creed or color. Obviously, this meant necessarily that segregated schools which resulted from segregated housing would have to be accepted. Thus we have, of course, a good many schools which are attended by Negro students only because of segregated housing.

To the best of our knowledge, no high schools in New Jersey were ever set up for Negro students only. At the elementary school level, however, about fifty school districts in the southern part of our State maintained schools to which only Negro students were assigned. In some instances, Negro students were required to pass schools attended by white children in order to get to the segregated school for Negroes.

With the provision contained in the revised Constitution, all enforced segregation of this kind became unconstitutional. The Commissioner of Education, at that time, Dr. John H. Bosshart, instructed the staff of this Division to work with local boards of education to eliminate any segregated schools which were in violation of the provision in the Constitution.

The original list of communities which this Division prepared numbered sixty-two. Upon investigation, it was apparent that some of these communities never had segregated schools. In other cases, it was difficult to tell if segregation had existed because immediately upon the adoption of the Constitution any vestiges of segregation were immediately abandoned. All that we can say is that in about fifty communities segregated elementary schools existed in New Jersey as of 1947. At present, no schools are segregated in terms of the meaning implied in the Constitutional provision. This Division was able to work with local boards of education in the years which have intervened since 1947 to effect this commendable result. Most of the school systems willingly complied with the Constitutional provision and submitted without delay programs of integration which were immediately approved by this Division. Other school systems asked that they be given a period of a year, and in some cases more, to effect a proper integration of students. When the reasons presented seemed valid, this Division granted such request.

At present, a few problems remain in a very few school districts. Some of these problems can be solved only with the construction of new school facilities. The Division is working with these districts in the hope that newly constructed school facilities will be so located as to eliminate segregation of Negro students to the fullest degree possible. In a few instances, we have problems which seem to indicate some discrimination against Negro students which are related to the transportation system of the school district. All of the remaining problem situations, however, are under the continued surveillance of this Division and of the other divisions of the Department of Education. None of the school districts in which problems have been recognized have taken any arbitrary attitude. The way remains open, therefore, for the amicable solution of these problems.

■ The main facts in the Englewood, N.J., school bias charges

Englewood School Bias Charges

THE public hearing was called by John P. Milligan, Director of the Division Against Discrimination, in August 1954, to air the complaints of two Negro parents when he failed in his efforts to conciliate the present dispute over the attendance of Negro children in the Lincoln School and when the Englewood Board of Education failed to halt the effective date of the newly drawn school zone lines. The hearing, originally scheduled for September 28, was postponed to October 20.

The controversy involved concerns the extension of the northern boundary of the Lincoln School Zone in such a manner as to include all of the 4th ward, a heavily populated Negro area, into one zone, thereby forcing the Negro pupils to attend a segregated school.

On December 6, 1953 Mrs. Susanne Anderson of 34 Amory Street filed a complaint with the Division Against Discrimination, State of New Jersey Department of Education, complaining that her son, James Anderson, Jr., was compelled to attend the Lincoln School which is located outside of his school zone. She lives in the zone which is attended by the Liberty School, on the west side of Amory Street.

On July 26, 1954 Mrs. Mary Walker of 300 Franklin Road filed a complaint with the Division Against Discrimination, charging that her son, Theodore Walker, was enrolled at the Liberty School in May 1954, but under the newly zoned school lines, effective September 1, 1954, her son is compelled to attend kindergarten in the Lincoln School.

On September 23, five new complaints were filed with the Division Against Discrimination on behalf of the following Negro parents: Mrs. Hattie Harper, Mrs. Florie Scott, Mrs. Julia Hannibal, Mrs. Edith Ward and Mrs. Lorrine Clark.

The first four complaints were similar to that of Mrs. Mary Walker. The fifth complaint filed on behalf of Mrs. Lorrine Clark charged that although she lives on the east side of Lafayette Place, at First Street, her children were denied the option of attending the Liberty School.

These five complaints have not yet been processed, but the parents will appear as witnesses in the cases of Mrs. Anderson and Mrs. Walker.

SCHOOL BOUNDARIES

Prior to June 28, 1954, the 4th ward was divided into two school zones. Part of the 4th ward constituted the Lincoln School zone. Another part of the 4th ward constituted part of the Liberty School zone. The other part of the Liberty School zone constituted part of the third ward.

Until June 28, 1954, the northern boundary of the Lincoln School zone in the 4th ward was just south of Palisades Avenue, extending from the railroad west to the east side of Amory Street. The eastern boundary of the Lincoln zone was the railroad.

The southern boundary commences at Lafayette Place and Tietjen Avenue. The western boundary joined the northern boundary just south of Palisades Avenue on the east side of Amory Street, extended directly south through a park and west to Lafayette Place, continuing down the east side of Lafayette Place to Tietjen Avenue.

On June 28, 1954, the Board adopted new school zone lines which involved students entering the kindergarten in Lincoln School only, and the children entering kindergarten and grade 1 of Roosevelt, Franklin, Cleveland and Liberty schools. Under the new school zone lines, which went into effect September 1, 1954, the northern boundary of the Liberty School was extended north from Demarest Avenue to Slocum Avenue and Tryon Avenue, to include more students in the Liberty School and to relieve the overcrowding in the Cleveland school.

The northern boundary of the Lincoln School was extended from Amory Street to the western border of the town, just south of Palisades Avenue, so that children living on both sides of Palisades Avenue, north and south, would attend Liberty School. The extension of the northern boundary from the railroad to the western border of the town, just south of Palisades Avenue, includes all of the fourth ward in the Lincoln school zone with respect to new children entering the kindergarten in September. In other words, the old Lincoln School zone and that part of the Liberty School zone, which was in the 4th ward, are now one school with respect to kindergarten students.

EFFECTS OF CHANGE

The effect of this change in the northern boundary of the Lincoln School zone was shown in September, 1954 when school opened with no Negro children entering the kindergarten in Liberty School and only two white children entering the kindergarten in Lincoln School, one in the afternoon session and one in the morning session.

The change in the school boundary lines has left the Cleveland School with overcrowding and has left Lincoln School with six empty classrooms. There are 102 new Negro students in the Lincoln School kindergarten. Two of these are white. There are 53 new students in the Liberty School, all white.

If the present school zone lines are continued all of the Negro chil-

dren shall have graduated from the Liberty School in six years.

With the 4th ward being now approximately 85 to 95 percent Negro, with the percentage increasing each school term, and with only four white students in the entire Lincoln School as of today, in six years the Lincoln School will be 100% Negro.

On the east side of Lafayette Place at approximately Third Street there is an apartment building, occupied entirely by white families. Under the new school zone lines these children are given the option of attending either the Liberty School or Lincoln School. Apparently, those children chose to attend the Liberty School.

The Board of Education of Englewood has made proposals with respect to expanding school facilities. One proposal includes the erection of a new school in the very center of the 4th ward, the Negro section. The Lincoln School is located just south of Palisades Avenue, that is, less than one block from the southern side of Palisades Avenue. The Liberty School is four blocks from the Lincoln School. The Lincoln Junior High School is located five blocks from the Engle Street Junior High School.

The parents of the Negro children complain that the intention of the Englewood Board of Education in erecting a new school in the heart of the Negro area is for no other reason than confining the Negro school population into one school zone, thereby perpetuating segregated schools.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE FIGURES

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Name of School	*Grades*	*Number of Students 1953-Oct. 1, 1954* Total	*Percentage* Negro	White
Roosevelt Elementary	K-6	420	8%	92%
Franklin Elementary	K-6	315	4%	96%
Cleveland Elementary	K-6	622	0%	100%
Liberty Elementary	K-6	445	43%	57%
Lincoln Elementary	K-6	386	99+%	——

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Engle Street J. H. S.	7-9	623	10%	——
Lincoln J. H. S.	7-9	133	99+%	——

HIGH SCHOOLS

Dwight Morrow H. S.	10-12	963	13%	87%

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Editorial

REPORT ON DESEGREGATION

ABOUT six months ago the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education published Harry S. Ashmore's *The Negro and the Schools*, a research job done by forty-five competent scholars, mostly Southerners. This book traced the origins of segregation in the American public schools, especially in the South. Now this same foundation brings out *Schools in Transition*, Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Margaret W. Ryan (The University of North Carolina Press, $3.00).

Now that segregation is definitely out of the picture, legally, the only question is integration, of which the South is fully aware. This is the problem attacked by *Schools in Transition* as it presents "community experiences in desegregation," and like the Ashmore volume it is based upon the researches of many scholars in twenty-four communities in six states (Arizona, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, New Mexico, and Ohio) bordering the South. They range in size from Cincinnati, Ohio, with 503,998 people, down to little Nogales, Arizona, with a mere 6,153 persons. And the percentage of Negroes in the total population of these communities ranges from Cairo's 36.1 percent to Nogales' 2.1 percent.

"THE approach is not that of theory nor of consideration of national politics related to the subject. Rather it represents the actual experiences in twenty-four communities in six states which, since the end of World War II, have moved from some measure of segregation to a system in which Negro and white children attend the same schools. These community studies represent in part a stock-taking, a factual account of what actually occurred during the periods of transition from one system to another, and an analysis of the specific forces at work in the communities which facilitated or hindered the change in local customary behavior."

IN examining these communities, from New Jersey to Arizona, the authors discovered that "variety is the keynote." Each community presents a complex of forces peculiar to itself, each community is in some ways unique, yet never in all aspects, and for this reason it offers an experience which has limited application to other communities. Another finding is that there is no hidebound correlation between community prejudices and successful desegregation of the schools. "Successful public desegregation has been carried out in places where supposedly the prevailing attitudes favored segregation and where other institutions continued to be segregated, such as Indianapolis; Mount Holly, New Jersey; and Gary, Indiana. Segregation has persisted for years in other instances where attitudes were *relatively* favorable for integra-

tion, such as Cincinnati, Camden, or Atlantic City. In some instances, as in Douglas, Arizona, school desegregation was successful in a completely segregated environment. Without a careful diagnosis it is impossible to predict whether the school or some other local institution will move first toward integrated activity."

DETERMINED, intelligent leadership is another important factor in desegregation. Where the white community has no definitely formed ideas favoring continued segregation, or where community attitudes are in flux, leadership can tip the balance either way. Tucson and Douglas, Arizona, are cited as striking illustrations of what an intelligently conceived plan forthrightly administered can do. In other words, where educators are "in a real sense community leaders, potential disturbances seldom developed. . . ."

"Transition from segregation to non-segregation—and to some measure of true integration—took place in most of the twenty-four communities with a smoothness and lack of open friction which typically surprised officials and teachers. In this the public schools shared the same reactions found in Southern universities. In nearly all instances, the amount of difficulty and tension actually experienced was less than had been anticipated and predicted. Only in one town—Cairo, Illinois—was there any violence, and even in this instance no blood was shed."

Actual community experiences with desegregation, this report shows, are quite different from the alarmist opinions set forth in some of the Southern state briefs filed with the U. S. Supreme Court for the October Term. North Carolina, for instance, claims that immediate desegregation will "result in such violent opposition as to endanger the continued existence of the schools"; and Arkansas believes that immediate desegregation would have "a most disastrous effect. . . ."

AS *The Crisis* has previously pointed out, desegregation has not been a fuse to violence except where the authorities wobbled, as they did in Milford, Delaware, and rabble rousers were permitted to harangue the crowds. *Schools in Transition* supports this view.

This does not mean that there will be no disturbances at all, and the editors forsee, as desegregation goes ahead in the South, "some instances of personal conflict and name-calling — even instances of disturbances."

The NAACP takes the position, in its brief filed with the October Term of the Supreme Court, that "Much of the opposition to forthwith desegregation does not truly rest on any theory that it is better to accomplish it gradually. In considerable part, if indeed not in the main, such opposition stems from a desire that desegregation not be undertaken at all."

The lesson driven home by this study is that immediate desegregation, when it is undertaken forthrightly and intelligently, works.

■ Highlights of the 19th Virginia State Conference of NAACP branches

The Crisis Goes to a State Convention

THE 19th Annual Virginia State Conference-NAACP was one of the most successful in the history of the state. The conference was held in Martinsville, Virginia, from Friday, October 8 through Sunday, October 10. Many notables and 400 delegates were present.

Among the resolutions passed by the delegates was one urging NAACP officials to testify before the School Education Commission appointed by Governor Stanley to chart Virginia's course in the light of the May 17 Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregation in the public schools.

The resolution, one of a score passed by the conference, says in part:

"Whereas, the Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches is an

DISCUSSION LEADERS *and resource persons at the Virginia State Conference listen as Alfred Ferguson, Martinsville school teacher, and Mrs. Queen Bolden, Martinsville business woman, discuss "What Am I Supposed to Do Now?"*

REGISTRATION COMMITTEE *enrolls delegates as they pour in for convention. Conference president J. M. Tinsley of Richmond pins on his badge.*

organization of Virginia citizens dedicated to the principles of the American ideal of the unalienable rights of individuals to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . .

"Be it resolved that the officials of this State Conference are instructed to exert every effort to place its views before said commission and also urge other organizations and interested individuals with similar ideals and objectives to do likewise."

Speaking at the mammoth Freedom Fund rally which closed the three-day meeting, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel and lawyer who argued the school cases before the Supreme Court, declared that good government will win out in the fight to end segregation. He added that if the problem of integrating the public schools of the United States were left to the school children themselves, there would be no problem.

"Virginia is no different from any other state," Marshall explained. "If they can desegregate schools in Balti-

MRS. VIRGINIA NAACP, *Mrs. Virginia Carrington of Charlottesville, Virginia, is crowned by Dr. S. F. Coppage of Norfolk.*

more, they can desegregate schools anywhere, including Biloxi, Mississippi."

Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, Virginia, dentist and president of the Virginia NAACP, lashed out at Governor Stanley and Attorney-General Almond for their attempts to retain segregation for Virginia's public schools.

"These men, and other officials like them, are our enemies," Dr. Tinsley declared. "It is men like these that encourage organized groups to do violence to colored children."

Earlier Sunday morning, the delegates had re-elected Dr. Tinsley for his twentieth consecutive term as president of the State Conference. Other officers chosen were Dr. E. B. Henderson of Falls Church, vice-president; Dr. S. F. Coppage of Norfolk, treasurer; Oliver M. Hill of Richmond, chairman of legal staff; and Martin A. Martin of Richmond, vice-chairman of legal staff.

Members of the executive board, elected for a three-year term, J. S. Carrington, South Boston; Rev. W. J. Hodge, Lynchburg; Dr. John B. Henderson, Norfolk; and Charles D. Fowler, Jr., of Charlottesville, a new member. Also added to the state legal staff was Attorney Hugo Madison, of Norfolk.

(*Continued on page* 643)

ATTORNEY OLIVER HILL, *chairman of the Virginia state legal staff, admonishes the nearly 200 dinner guests to rededicate themselves to the unfinished task of the late Dr. Luther Porter Jackson.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Walter Lee Irvin: NAACP lawyers are working hard in an attempt to save the Groveland, Florida, youth, Walter Lee Irvin, from death in the electric chair for an alleged rape which the 26-year-old man consistently has maintained he did not commit.

Walter Lee Irvin was to have been electrocuted during the week of November 8, but on November 6 NAACP attorney Frank Reeves obtained a stay of execution from the U. S. Supreme Court. Association lawyers then prepared a petition for writ of certiorari (a writ from a superior court to call up for review the records of an inferior court) in the Irvin case, scheduled to be presented to the Supreme Court by November 20. At this time the Supreme Court is to decide whether to hear arguments for a new trial for the young prisoner.

Irvin is one of four young Negroes convicted in Florida of the alleged rape of a young white housewife. He first was convicted on September 3, 1949, by an all-white jury in the county court in Tavares.

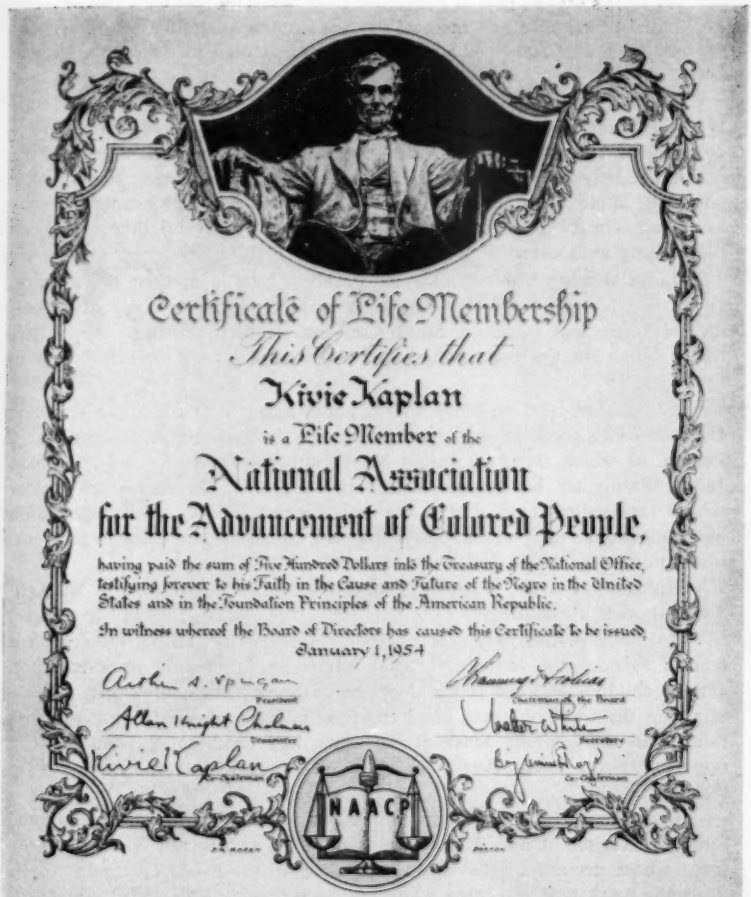
Convicted with Irvin at his first trial were Samuel Shepherd and Charles Greenlee, then 16 years of age. Greenlee was given life imprisonment, and Irvin and Shepherd sentenced to death. The fourth accused youth was shot to death by a deputized mob a few hours after the alleged crime of July 16, 1949.

Because of the reign of violence which was precipitated in the Groveland area after the woman made her accusation, the atmosphere of hostility in the courtroom and the provocative role of the press and radio in the area, NAACP attorneys at that time sought a change of venue and postponement of the trial. This was denied.

An NAACP appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court brought an order for a new trial for Shepherd and Irvin. In an opinion handed down on April 9, 1951, the late Justice Robert H. Jackson said:

"These convictions, accompanied by such events, do not meet my civilized conception of due process of law. . . . This case presents one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces to American justice."

Shepherd was killed and Irvin wounded by Sheriff Willis McCall on their way from the prison to the new trial on Nov. 6, 1951. The two prisoners were unarmed and handcuffed together, but McCall claimed he shot them in self-defense and was exonerated.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National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People,
having paid the sum of Five Hundred Dollars into the Treasury of the National Office, testifying forever to his Faith in the Cause and Future of the Negro in the United States and in the Foundation Principles of the American Republic.
In witness whereof the Board of Directors has caused this Certificate to be issued,
January 1, 1954
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President
Allan Knight Chalmers
Treasurer
Kivie Kaplan
Co-Chairman
Chairman of the Board
Walter White
Secretary
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NAACP

THIS BEAUTIFUL LIFE MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATE, *in the form of a plaque, 8¾ by 6¾ inches, goes to every life member who joins up during the Freedom Fund Campaign. The NAACP needs 2500 life memberships. Why not join up!*

At Irvin's second trial in February, 1952, as in his first trial, the prosecution failed to produce any medical evidence of the plaintiff's testimony that she had been raped. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the second conviction.

In its petition presented to the Supreme Court by November 20, the NAACP contended that the prosecution in the two trials of Irvin and his co-defendants refused to call to the stand a white doctor who examined the plaintiff shortly after the alleged rape took place. That doctor, the NAACP contends, could have testified that the housewife had not been criminally assaulted. The NAACP petition also will point up several other errors in the prosecution's case.

Judge Waring Honored: Royally received by 500 of their best friends, Judge and Mrs. J. Waties Waring were given a warm welcome at a testimonial dinner in Charleston, South Carolina, on their return to the Judge's native home for the first time since he retired from the federal bench in February, 1952.

The dinner, held on November 6 under auspices of the South Carolina Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which the Rev. James M. Hinton is president, paid tribute to Judge Waring for his historic dissenting opinion in the Clarendon county school segregation case. Judge Waring's dissent holding such segregation unconstitutional was unanimously affirmed by the United States Supreme Court in its memorable decision of May 17.

Robert L. Carter, assistant special counsel, represented the NAACP national office at the dinner.

A bronze plaque presented to the jurist declared: "He set the stage for tearing asunder the fetters of racial inferiority inhumanly imposed upon certain children and the removal of the curse of racial superiority cruelly blighting the lives of other children, thus making possible — for the first time — an unhampered sense of belonging and brotherhood, and the full opportunity for every American child to experience true democracy in everyday living."

In a thoughtful presentation address Marion A. Wright, president of the Southern Regional Council, hailed Judge Waring as "the one South Carolina jurist whose decisions have so affected for good the lives of so many." His decisions mark him as a man who "has been loyal to this century and this

---

A. MACEO SMITH (*center*) *of Dallas, Texas, member of the NAACP board of directors and secretary of the Texas state conference of NAACP branches, presents a check representing the contribution of Texas branches to the Fighting Fund for Freedom Campaign.* BOTTOM: *Dr. G. D. Flemmings (left) of Fort Worth, Texas, presents life membership certificates to new life members at the 45th annual NAACP conference in Dallas, Texas.*

PLEDGE LIFE SUPPORT TO NAACP—*Seven physicians and an attorney, all of New York City, become life members of the NAACP by presenting an initial payment on a $500 life membership to Edward Dudley (third from left) special assistant for the Association. From left, Dr. Everard Carey, Dr. Arthur Logan, Mr. Dudley, Dr. Rochard Carey, Dr. William A. Wethers, and Atty. Cornelius McDougald, Jr. The physicians are all on the staff of the Upper Manhattan Medical Group of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York. Mr. McDougald is administrator for the group.*

age . . . not a group or a class or even a race, but to all mankind. His decisions have helped to break the shackles which bound the twentieth century to the nineteenth or even the eighteenth."

"I am sure," the speaker asserted, "I would be less than truthful if I did not express my and your conviction that his attachment for not one race but all mankind was quickened and motivated by the counsel and companionship of his noble and lovely wife."

Judge Waring, he said, "has observed Victor Hugo's injunction that a man should so live that he will be cursed by the past and blessed by the future." Mr. Wright expressed confidence that "the bench and bar of South Carolina, the State itself officially, will rectify their present omission fittingly to reward this central and dominant figure of the epic struggle" to end racial discrimination and segregation.

Reviewing Judge Waring's southern origin and association, Mr. Wright declared that the jurist had overcome regional limitations. He has "done far more than write judicial opinions which will affect the course of life for generations. He has demonstrated in his own personality the fact that man is capable of triumphing over self. The great contribution which he has made to the lives of us all is to be found in the demonstration that, by the grace of God, an individual, regardless of how he may be circumstanced and cabined, may reach that pinnacle of moral estate in which his own identity is merged and lost in a common humanity."

Board Backs Tobias: The prompt action of Dr. Channing H. Tobias, board chairman, in averting the appearance of a notorious racist at a conference of the New York State NAACP was fully approved by the NAACP board of directors at its regular monthly meeting on November 8.

Informed of the invitation to W. Bryant Bowles to address a week-end NAACP conference in Peekskill, Dr. Tobias, after consultation with Mrs. Effie Gordon, president of the state conference, and members of the national office staff, took immediate steps to suspend the scheduled meeting and issued a directive that "under no circumstances" should Bowles, president of the so-called National Association for the Advancement of White People, be permitted to address an NAACP meeting.

The white supremacy advocate had been invited to speak by the Peekskill branch, host to the conference, without the knowledge of state officials or the national office.

Discussing the incident in the board meeting, Dr. Tobias made it clear that he did not consider the issue of freedom of speech involved. "Freedom of speech," he said, "does not require us to make our platform available to a man in custody of the law as Bowles was at that time or to one who openly incites violation of the law of the land as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court. Bowles is opposed to everything for which we stand."

Fredom Drive: The national office as of October 28 had received freedom campaign donations totaling $1,375 during one week.

The campaign received a bequest of $300 from the estate of Eliza F. Wilson, Richmond, Va., and $160 from New York locals of the joint board of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union, AFL.

In addition to several individuals who collectively contributed $45, seven local NAACP branches sent a total of $870 to national headquarters. They were: Joliet and East St. Louis, Ill., $250 each; Weldon, N.C., Indianapolis, Ind., and Danville, Ill., $100 each; Williamsport, Pa., $50; and Arkansas City, Kans., $20.

By November 10 the national office had received $3,533 for the freedom campaign over a two-week period. Branch contributions during the fortnight were as follows: Lake Charles, La., $1,000; the Virginia State Conference of Branches, $2,000; Weldon, N. C., $100; Jackson, Miss., $250; Perry, Okla., $25; Meridian, Miss., $50; Miami, Fla., $25; and Hyde county, N.C., $8. In addition the campaign received $75 in miscellaneous contributions.

The annual membership drive of the Camden, N.J., branch has so far brought in 1,424 members and $2,920. This marks the tenth year, according to New Jersey state conference president, Dr. U. S. Wiggins, that the Camden branch has exceeded its membership quota of 1,000 members.

New Life Member: The Rev. Mary G. Evans, minister of the Cosmopolitan Independent Community Church of Chicago, Ill., took out a life membership in October. The $500 life membership was presented to Dr. Evans by the congregation at the church service October 24, following an address by Mrs. Daisy Lampkin of Pittsburgh, guest speaker for the special day service.

Another new life member is Presley Wi field, prominent realtor of Berkeley, Calif, who made his fiinal payment of $300 at the NAACP far western regional convention at Asilomar, Calif., October 16.

Partial payments on life membership were received in October from the following persons in the St. Louis, Mo., and East St. Louis, Ill., areas: Dr. John Eubanks, Dr. Edgar F. Woodson, Dr. Wallace A. Fingal, Dr. A. M. Jackson, Atty. Billy Jones, and Marshall T. Dobson, all of East St. Louis; Dr. Herbert Erwin and Dr. J. S. Whittico of St. Louis; and Dr. Earle Williams of Lovejoy, Ill.

Walter White: Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, has been taken off the critical list at New York Hospital where he was admitted on Oct. 12 after having suffered a heart attack.

The physicians caring for Mr. White have reported . it he is "improving steadily" but have set no date for his leaving the hospital.

New Field Secretary: Charles W. Greenlea of Atlanta, Ga., has been appointed new field secretary for that state.

Prior to this appointment Mr. Greenlea worked with the USO in Georgia, and more recently with the Atlanta *Daily World,* the only Negro daily newspaper in the country.

Mr. Greenlea has been consistently active in the Atlanta branch of the NAACP and the Georgia State Conference of NAACP Branches.

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What the Branches Are Doing

California: During the past few months, Franklin H. Williams, secretary-counsel of the WEST COAST region, has addressed groups in Vancouver, Bremerton, and Pasco, Washington; and Portland, Oregon. On November 7 he addressed a huge audience in San Diego.

In sworn statements secured in SACRAMENTO in October by lawyers for the NAACP, Milton Horgan, broker, and Joseph Frye, salesman, freely admitted that the sale of many hundreds of new houses through their offices is bound by a policy of not to sell to Negroes.

SOME *of the members of the Akron, Ohio, youth council of the NAACP.*

ATTORNEY HENRY L. SMITH, JR. (*left*) *of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, presents the 1954 Civil Rights Award of the Pennsylvania NAACP to Rev. George A. Myers of Erie at the 20th annual conference of the Pennsylvania State NAACP held in Harrisburg on September 25.*

The depositions taken by NAACP attorneys Franklin H. Williams and Nathaniel S. Colley will figure in a $10,000 suit filed on the behalf of Oliver A. Ming who charges that solely because of his race he was refused to the right to purchase a house offered for sale by Horgan and Frye, both of whom are named as defendants.

The suit was filed in the superior court here May 10, 1954, and charges that "with the aid and assistance of the federal housing administration the defendants have constructed and sold many thousands of dwelling units in Sacramento county and pursuant to their unlawful agreement have refused to sell a single one of said housing units to a Negro."

The defendants are accused of having "entered into an oral agreement" not to sell any of the houses to Negroes and that such an agreement is a violation of the laws and public policy of the United States and the State of California. The complaint charges further that these discriminatory practices have been pursued in spite of the fact that this housing is insured by public funds. The defendants are said to "enjoy a

monopoly on the construction and sale of housing" in Sacramento county.

In addition to Horgan and Frye, the following are named as defendants in the suit.

The Heraty and Gannon Equipment Co., Don L. Lucas, president of the Sacramento Real Estate Board, Randolph Parks, Inc., M. J. King, Fernandez Construction Co., McBride Realty Co., Hackes and Hurst Real Estate Co., Sertich Realty Co., Lusk Realty Co., and Cowden Realty Co., all of Sacramento county.

Attorney Colley is president of the central area NAACP conference and a member of the west coast NAACP legal redress committee. Attorney Williams is secretary-counsel of the west coast region NAACP.

Illinois: Dr. Charles Leander Hill, president of Wilberforce university was speaker at the CHICAGO branch mass meeting launching the 1954 fight for freedom membership campaign. The mass meeting, held October 21, was the kick-off drive to secure 10,000 NAACP members in Chicago. The membership drive is directed by Gertrude Gorman.

On October 16 the Chicago branch called a legislative conference to discuss and plan a campaign for the passage of equal job opportunities legislation at the 1955 session of the Illinois General Assembly. Other civil rights and anti-discrimination problems were also considered.

On October 24, at the morning services of the Cosmopolitan Independent Community Church, 5249 S. Wabash Avenue, the congregation voted an NAACP life membership of $500 to its minister, Rev. Mary G. Evans. This presentation came at the conclusion of an address made by Mrs. Daisy Lampkin of Pittsburgh, who was the speaker of the special day service.

Massachusetts: Harry W. Oswell of WORCESTER calls attention to the successful work of the colored principal of one of the city's grammar schools, Oxford St. School. The *Worcester Sunday Telegram* (October 31) publishes an illustrated article on "Pupils to Have Dances at Oxford St. School."

JOHN T. DREW, SR., *executive committee member of the Richmond branch and active in organizing the West End Unit in the city, was recipient of the Luther P. Jackson Award at the Virginia State Conference on October 9.*

Michigan: According to a report from the DETROIT branch, there were a total of sixteen complaints of racial discrimination reported to the branch during the period of September 1-October 9, 1954.

On October 5, Lt. Smith and Sgt. Jones of the Detroit police department arranged to meet the branch president

and executive secretary in the branch office to discuss the results of the Department's investigation in the Jefferson-Faison and Strickland police brutality cases. In each of the cases, police investigators had concluded that in view of the various mitigating factors in the situations complained about the officers were justified in their conduct, and that there were no bases for any disciplinary action. The branch president told the officers that their report was not acceptable in either case and that the matter would be pursued further.

The following are excerpts from the reply of the National Broadcasting Company to the Detroit branch's complaints of racial discrimination leveled against the Arthur Murray Party television program:

"We have brought to the attention of the Arthur Murray people the complaints you raise in your telegram of August 31 and your letter of September 8 concerning treatment of Negroes who presented certificates for free dancing lessons at the Arthur Murray studios in Detroit. We have been informed by Mr. Paul Coonrod of the Arthur Murray organization that the policy of the Arthur Murray people has always been non-discriminatory in every respect. Mr. Coonrod has explained that there are certain technicalities and other reasons why people are rejected when they present certificates and that as a matter of policy the question of an applicant's race has nothing to do with the situation.

"I might also mention to you that following the broadcast of September 14, the Arthur Murray program is leaving the NBC network and will henceforth be broadcast on the ABC network."

On the basis of this information, the secretary of the Detroit branch wired the ABC network, relating the details of the discrimination problem and urging network officials to ban television of the dancing contests. No reply has been received as yet.

WALTER WHITE (*left*) *receives life membership from Atty. Harry McAlpin (center) and Dr. Maurice Rabb for Kentucky state conference of the NAACP.*

Minnesota: Warren E. Burger, former St. Paul attorney and now assistant U.S. attorney general in charge of the Civil Claims Division in Washington, was guest speaker at the October 25 meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch.

North Carolina: The WINSTON-SALEM branch has installed the following officers for 1954-55: Mary Scott, president; Charles Young, vice-president; Annie Green, secretary; Leanna Simmons, assistant secretary; Mary Quick, treasurer; and Carlisle Parker, parliamentarian. Committee chairmen are as follows: Theresa Cummings, program; Frances Clark, publicity; William Griffin, finance; Lillian Graham, membership; Eglon Bailey, education; and Dr. Lillian Lewis, advisor.

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Hyde Co. (Lake Landing)	8.00
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College and School News

The FOREIGN OPERATIONS ADMINISTRATION, Washington, D. C., issues an informative illustrated bulletin, *American Universities in Technical Cooperation*, telling Americans how American educational institutions have brought learning and resources to some of the world's underdeveloped regions.

■

The DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, Division Against Discrimination, of the State of New Jersey publishes an interesting booklet titled, "Text of the Supreme Court Decision on Segregation in Public Schools." The 46 pages contain the text of the decision, selected comments from the nation's press, and the New Jersey story in brief.

■

At Hot Springs on October 27 sixty NEGRO EDUCATORS, in a two-day meeting sponsored by the Phelps Stokes Fund, adopted a significant statement calling for immediate planning in good faith to implement the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools.

The educators criticized "The effort on the part of some leaders and school officials to intimidate Negro teachers and other citizens under threat of loss of job if they express approval of the Court's decision, and if segregation is not maintained. . . ."

■

At the 61st annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce of Columbus, Ohio, on October 28, CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE was cited for the development of competent citizens and strong leaders.

■

The famed TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE choir led the November college choir broadcast of the American Broadcasting Company in cooperation with the United Negro College Fund. The programs featured the student choral groups of the UNCF member colleges, which are being broadcast weekly over some 170 stations of the ABC network.

■

Four persons have been added to the Reserve Officers Training Corps staff at FLORIDA A AND M UNIVERSITY. They are Major James T. Baker, Master Sergeant Joe L. Persons, Sergeant First Class Willie Bunch, and Coporal George Windham.

■

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY presented in October a testimonial scroll honoring Samuel Barfield for his 47 years of service to the University.

■

James L. Stanley was inaugurated president of MARY ALLEN COLLEGE on November 11, with the main address being delivered by Dr. W. T. Coggs, president of the Arkansas Baptist college, Little Rock.

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Robert C. Giles has been appointed director of press relations at Mary Allen. He is a graduate of the University of Texas, with a master's degree in journalism.

■

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■

The Very Reverend James A. Pike, dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, opened on October 27 the current season of The Institute for Religious and Social Studies at a meeting held at THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA, New York City.

■

Lt. Arthur L. Ridgley, III, a native of Landover, Maryland, qualified for his commission as a Second Lieutenant on October 1 as an officer in the United States Air Force by successfully completing the four-year Air Force Reserve Officer Training Program at MARYLAND STATE COLLEGE, a division of the University of Maryland.

■

Arthur A. George of FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE received his Ed. D. degree on October 25 from New York university. His areas of concentration were labor economies and social studies. Before coming to Fayetteville, Dr. George

had taught at Texas college and Shaw university.

■

The annual homecoming game of JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY was held on November 13, when the university played Morehouse college. One of the main events of the day was Dr. and Mrs. Liston's annual homecoming banquet at which chosen alumni received the 1954 Certificate of Merit.

■

Founders' day speakers at BENNETT COLLEGE on October 29 were Dr. Frederick Patterson, president of the United Negro College Fund and a trustee of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, pastor of the Central Methodist Church in Detroit since 1938. Both Dr. Patterson and Dr. Crane are trustees of Bennett and active in the work of the college.

The vice consul of Israel, Isaac Daniel Unna, now with the ministry for foreign affairs of the state of Israel, spoke to Bennett students on October 24 on the present conflict between the Arab nations and Israel. The conflict, he said, is social not political and can be solved by raising the living standards of the Arab people, not by sending arms into the Near East.

Another recent Bennett visitor was Dr. Eric W. Baker, secretary of the Methodist Conference of Great Britain.

■

New student president of the SHAW UNIVERSITY student body is Harold Ross, Jr., a senior from Atlantic City, New Jersey.

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According to an announcement recently released by Prof. Walter Chivers, chairman of the department at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, Dean B. R. Brazeal will initiate the 1954-55 Morehouse sociology lecture series. This series is intended to inform listeners about the status of interracial relations in America.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY observed fourteenth National Bible Week October 18-24. Speaking on behalf of the national observance, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk president, welcomed "the opportunity to contribute to the appeal of this movement which so appropriately embodies its own historic educational faith in the indispensable relationship of the Bible to the social and spiritual health and vitality of the American people."

The Erastus Milo Cravath Memorial Library of Fisk has published a thirty-two-page booklet, "A List of Manuscripts, Published Works and Related Items in the Charles Waddell Chestnut Collection." The booklet sells for 25¢.

■

The second lecturer in the 1954-55 Sociology Lecture Series at Morehouse was Dr. Dan W. Dodson, professor of educational sociology at New York university. Dr. Dodson lectured November 2-3 and then held lecture-discussion groups afterwards.

The President of Liberia, West Africa, William V. S. Tubman, was the guest of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY November 5-6. He addressed a special convocation of the university at 11:00 A.M. in Sisters Chapel, Spelman college. And the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him at the convocation. Morehouse college gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters.

The Honorable J. Ernest Wilkins, assistant secretary of labor, was convocation speaker at the eleventh annual university charter day celebration on October 17. He said the role of the Negro has been to keep the problem of obtaining a more perfect justice and a larger and larger measure of equality a live issue in American political life. "It may not have been a role that Negroes would have chosen had they been given a free range of choice, but the fact remains that because of the existence of a substantial number of Negroes in American society, America has never been able to sweep the problem of social justice under the rug."

Two members of the Atlanta staff, Mrs. Constance Nabrit and Professor Clarence Bacote, were honored by their colleagues at the eleventh annual charter day dinner for their twenty-five years of service to the university.

■

John C. Kidneigh, director of the school of social work at the University of Minnesota, was guest consultant at the Conference of Out-of-Town Supervisors of Field Work

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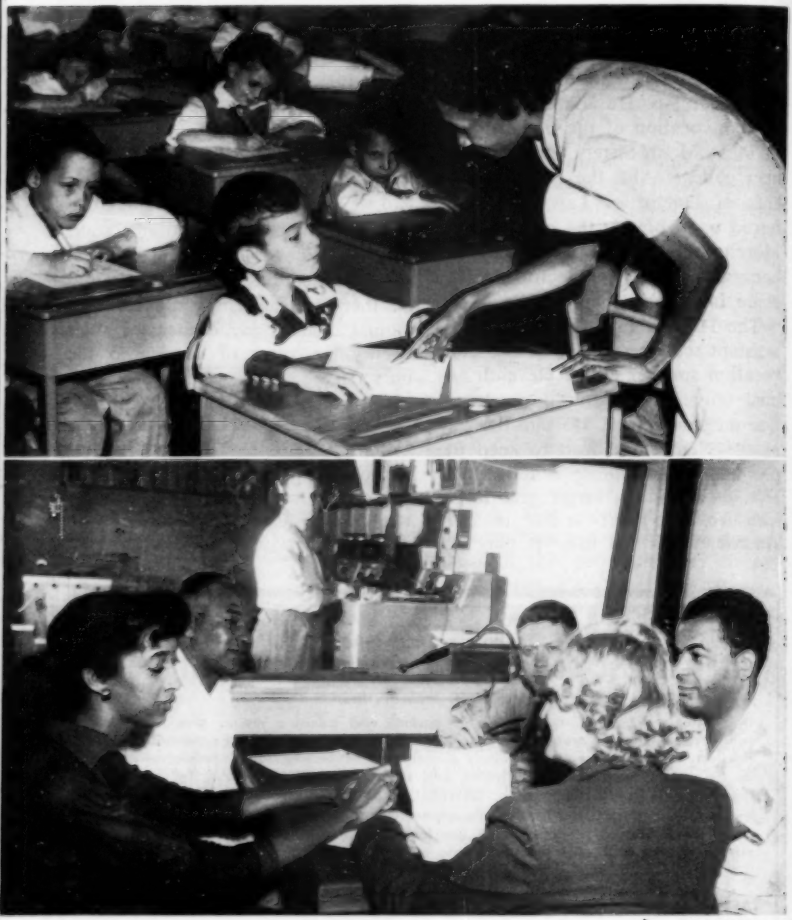

Wide World

DESPITE THE TROUBLES *in Milford, Delaware, and Baltimore, Maryland, these pictures show that interracial education does work. Mrs. Ella Rice talks to her all-white third-grade class at the Draper Elementary School in Washington, D. C.* BOTTOM: *A mixed colored and white group discuss desegregation in the Louisville, Kentucky, Public Library.*

held at the university school of social work November 2-4. This is the eighth such conference held at Atlanta, the purpose being to integrate the block field work program of the second year students in the School of Social Work with their classroom courses.

■

More than 100 delegates and interested persons participated in the second annual conference of Missouri State Sociologists at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) on October 2.

Students in high schools in every section of Missouri will write 1,000-word essays on the subject of school integration for thte tenth annual State High School Feature Writing Contest. The Lincoln university school of journalism sponsors the contest each year. Prizes of $100, $50, and $25 will go to the winners. The deadline for entries is February 1, 1955.

■

Lt. Colonel Clinton Burke, Jr., professor of military science and tactics at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, attended a two-day Reserve Officers Training Corps conference November 9-10 at Second Army Headquarters, Fort Meade, Maryland.

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Book Reviews

ARMY DESEGRATION

Breaking Through on the Color Front. **By Lee Nichols. New York: Random House, 1954. X+235pp. $3.50.**

"The final victory over discrimination and segregation, when it comes, will be a victory for men entire," assert Milton M. Gordon and John P. Roche in an article published in the New York Times Magazine for April 25, 1954. Lee Nichols' *Breakthrough on the Color Front* underscores the above quote as it sets before us a clear and current report on how enlightened courage and foresight have triumphed over stubborn ignorance and bias in the armed services of our nation.

Desegregation has been a "victory for man entire" not only because Negroes assigned to mixed units acquired a new sense of pride and self-respect, but because "a possible bonus from integration" is that the improved performance of the Negroes may also have spurred greater effort on the part of whites. Moreover, the research teams who gathered this information by polls and interviews found another significant pattern: those concerned who believed from the first that integration would work were reaffirmed; those who did not reported *"that experiences had changed their opinion."*

Hence a lesson for "gradualists" and doubting Thomases; and hence a relief for the abused dignity of the Negro serviceman. The lesson was difficult in the planning and painfully difficult to teach—for the stubborn brass would hardly listen, and learned in spite of themselves. The relief was something of a miracle treatment, for under segregation the colored soldiers felt themselves at best unwanted though needed, at worst human fodder tossed into the racial climate of Dixie to be broken by this region's brutal jim-crow customs in order to bolster a sort of scapegoat racial morality among southern whites. And it is late comfort to the South-scarred to learn that General Marshall subsequently regretted his "decision acquiescing in the plan to train northern Negro units in the South. . ." But it is nevertheless comfort.

As early as October 1940 Assistant Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson is said to have favored initial moves towards desegregation, but ran into a stone wall of military opinion which deemed such a proposed change "destructive to morale" and "detrimental to the preparations for national defense." As late as October 1953 Assistant Defense Secretary John A. Hannah said that segregated Army units would be completely eliminated by June 1954. Currently, only the Navy's all-Negro Steward's branch is a hold-out.

Mr. Nichols' very able reportorial survey of this vastly important story makes available an honor roll among the numerous men involved in effecting this salutary reform. And close to the men are the reasons: "While most pro-

fessional military men had stressed military efficiency as their chief motivation, their civilian leaders — Harry Truman, Stuart Symington, James Forrestal, Frank Pace, Earl Johnson — were prompted likewise by strong democratic principles, frequently by religious and moral considerations."

Breakthrough on the Color Front is a story that every American should read and treasure, for its significance is equal to that of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. What it definitely proves is a direct challenge to the new troubled areas of housing, education and employment.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

***The Life and Death of Sylvia.* By Edgar Mittelholzer. New York: John Day, 1954. 316 pp. $4.00.**

It is fitting to say that there emerge clearly two characters and a third in Edgar Mittelholzer's *The Life and Death of Sylvia*, a novel which renders an account of men, women and manners in British Guiana.

Grantley Russell, who fathers Sylvia, the main character, while whoremongering himself into a misalliance with Charlotte Timmers, is a free-thinking business man-about-town whose Bohemian outlook sets the tenor of this story. His daughter Sylvia is so much the product of her father's counsels and influence that her life as a young woman is unfullfilled. Thus she comes off as a kind of budding bluestocking who kindles more respect than warmth in men. Moreover, her father limits her perspective by strongly suggesting that she can be happy only with a "coloured" husband of "Genteel blood." "You give the Portuguese and the coolies and the Chinese and the black people the go-by and stick to the coloured . . ." The outcome of all this is that when her father is waylaid and killed by his enemies, she finds herself in a world peopled by sharpsters she cannot cope with.

What Sylvia needed, in addition to a more intelligent outlook than her father was capable of providing, was the kind of match-making coach that only an alert, shrewd and concerned mother can be. But Charlotte is the epitome of ignorance and coarseness, hence she busies herself setting up back-door contact with her kind.

The author has etched the setting of this novel with more convincing results. One sees the variety of Georgetown's striving classes and colors, each element of which seems hellbent on outshining the others in being simply nothing of commendable significance. Status-seekers all, they sqirm madly in a poverty-beset, quagmire culture of brittle, quicksand values.

The book is devoid of suspense and shot through with a sense of emptiness, death, and decay.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

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MINORITY STOCKHOLDERS

(*Continued from page* 591)

meeting, Lustenberger wrote the Baltimore Committee of Racial Equality announcing that hereafter Grant's eating facilities in Baltimore would be open to all, regardless of color. The stockholders meeting protest had brought the year-long campaign to a successful conclusion.

In 1953 we used the same technique in connection with a campaign by the Washington Interracial Workshop to open Whelan's lunch counters to Negroes. However, we were unable to assess its effectiveness in this instance since shortly after the stockholders meeting, the Supreme Court outlawed discrimination in Washington's restaurants and Whelan's, along with other eating places, complied.

EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES

Upon reading about the case of Grant's, Thomas A. Gaines, of Stamford, Conn., wrote me about

how effective he had found this technique. "Several years ago, I discovered that as a stockholder in the Lehigh Coal & Navigation Co., I also owned a subsidiary, Split Rock Lodge in the Poconoes," his letter said. "This huge resort is noted for its discriminatory practices, so I went to the Philadelphia meeting and protested. Ever since, I have been impressed with this method of fighting inequality as being one with huge leverage."

Pointing out that one share of stock will get you into any meeting, Gaines suggests that organizations like the NAACP make the stockholders meeting protest a part of their program. He believes it could be used with greatest effectiveness against corporations with discriminatory employment policies.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

(*Continued from page* 588)

ever any conflict of interests may arise.

As another practical reason, the AFL and CIO unions have been moving steadily toward closer cooperation with the NAACP financially and politically. And these unions, naturally, will not cooperate with Communist-dominated unions; so that we have to choose between the few and comparatively weak Communist-Controlled unions and nearly all the rest of the labor movement, except for the Railroad Brotherhoods which are not Communist-controlled, but are against the NAACP's program, and practice a Negro exclusion policy.

There are far more Negro members in the AFL and CIO unions than in the few Communist-dominated ones, so that there can be no real question concerning which group of unions we should cooperate with, since we cannot cooperate with both.

Finally, it should be noted that the Communist-dominated unions are rapidly dwindling. The largest one, the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union, which was kicked out of the CIO, has lost a number of its local unions, particularly its largest local, then one in Schenectady, New York, to its CIO rival. The Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers Union has lost its largest local, Local 65 in New York City, with nearly one-half of the membership of the whole union, to the CIO. Thus the policy of urging cooperation by the NAACP and its branches with the Communist-controlled unions is a foolish policy practically, because such unions are losing strength as the workers wake up to the Communist character of their leaders, totally apart from any objection to Communism.

When the Communist fellow-travellers and dupes in the NAACP urge cooperation with the Communist-dominated unions, they are urging a policy that is financially and practically foolish as well as morally wrong. So true is this that we may well question whether their loyalty is first to the NAACP rather than to some outside organization, such as the Communist party.

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VIRGINIA CONVENTION

(*Continued from page* 617)

One significant event at the conference was the taking out of a life membership in the NAACP by the Grand Lodge of Masons of Virginia. The $500 check for membership was presented to W. Lester Banks, state executive secretary, at the freedom rally on Sunday, by M. Conrad Martin, Right Worshipful Grand Treasurer, on behalf of W. L. Ransome, Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Lodge of Masons of Virginia (Prince Hall affiliation).

Dr. Ransome has not only distinguished himself in Masonic circles, but he has given astute leadership in the religious, educational, and civic fields for more than twenty-five years. He is pastor of the First Baptist Church, South Richmond, and president of the Richmond Civic Council.

Mr. Martin has served as Right Grand Treasurer for twenty-seven years. He is a native of Danville, Virginia, and has been an official of the First State Bank (formerly the Danville Savings Bank and Trust Company) for thirty-five years.

Besides this tangible evidence of faith in the NAACP program, the Grand Lodge of Virginia has, during the past three years, contributed nearly $3,000 to the NAACP Legal, Educational and Defense Fund, Inc. That the Grand Lodge places a high value on the education of youth is shown by the more than $5,000 it has paid in scholarships to college of Virginia for children whose parents are Masonic members.

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